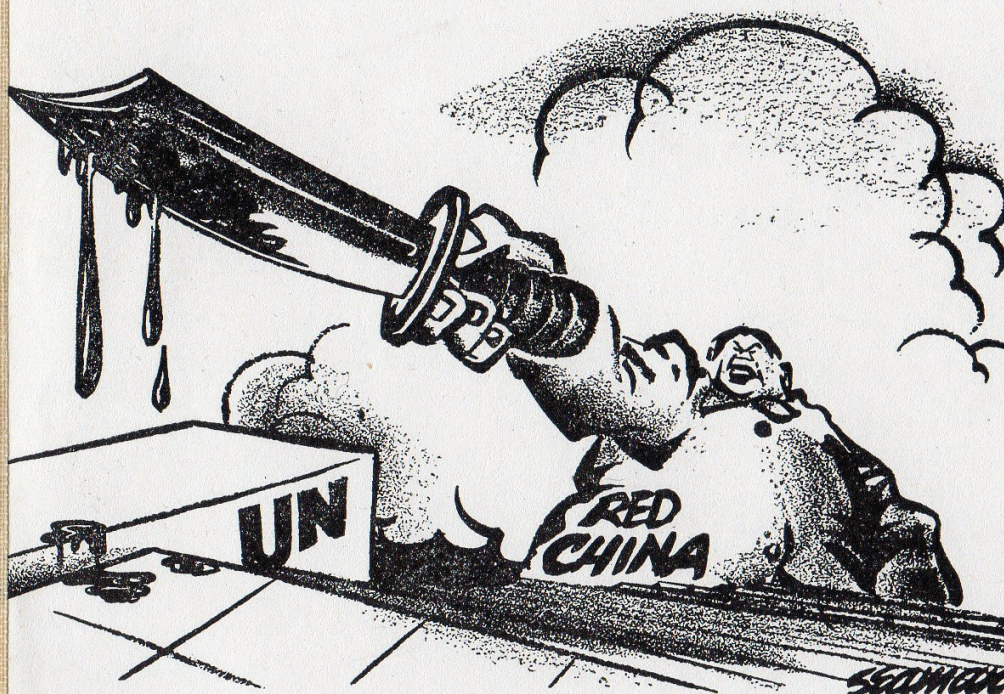


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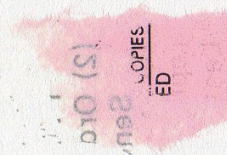
WHY COMMUNIST CHINA SHOULD NOT BE ADMITTED TO THE UNITED NATIONS



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**WHY COMMUNIST CHINA
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1. SHOULD COMMUNIST CHINA BE ADMITTED INTO THE U.N.?

WITH the truce in Korea, Allied policy towards Communist China has taken on a new urgency and fresh importance. Years of colonial policies and a thoroughly false evaluation by the democracies of the Chinese Communist Party (as an essentially agrarian reform movement and potential force for democratization) have been important contributory factors making for the upsurge of Communist totalitarianism in China.

Though these costly errors, the fatal blunders of the Chiang Kai-shek regime itself, and the appalling poverty of the people have certainly facilitated the Communist rise to power, they were not the decisive factors which brought about the Mao Tse-tung victory. The Communists could never have seized power in China without Russian military support and direction. Nor could the Mao Tse-tung regime continue to hold on to this usurped power without the economic, political, and military backing of Moscow.

Yet, it would be wrong to consider Communist China merely as a Soviet puppet like Bulgaria or Roumania. The very size of China and the distinctly military features characterizing the origin and development of Chinese Communism exclude such a simple satellite relationship with Russia. Communist China, being much stronger than any European satellite, is necessarily treated differently by Moscow. Precisely for this reason is Communist China not less but more dangerous to the free world than any of the European satellites.

In Asia, Communist Chinese imperialism is at least as dangerous as Russian expansion. Alongside of a consolidated Communist Chinese military colossus, the free nations of Asia (Burma, Thailand, etc.)—India not excluded—would be in the gravest jeopardy. Their national freedom and democratic institutions would be just as seriously endangered by a powerful, militarized totalitarian China as were the national independence and liberties of the free peoples (Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Holland) on the continent of Europe by Nazi German military prowess.

To the extent that the Asian peoples themselves do not realize and do not prepare to thwart this grave menace, they are

The above is from the Executive Council Report to the 72nd Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in St. Louis, Mo. in September, 1953.

sealing their own doom. The cause of world peace and human liberty is likewise fatally hurt when some Western democracies fail to comprehend the enormity of this danger. This tragic failure was evidenced by their trade with Peiping even during the Korean war. It is revealed in their present indecent haste to enter into extensive economic relations with the Mao Tse-tung dictatorship.

The Peiping regime has the same ideology, the identical objectives, and the same totalitarian tyranny—occasionally even more reprehensible—that the Moscow dictators have. The role of Communist China in Korea, Tibet, and Indo-China is no different from the role of Russia in the Baltic and Balkan lands and in eastern Europe. Because of its present economic backwardness, Communist China is today dependent upon Soviet support for carrying out its plans for industrialization and the building up of a huge modern military machine.

No Aid to Communist Imperialists!

Surely, no democratic power would have itself replace Russia in rendering such economic, technical, and military assistance to the rising aggressive imperialism of Communist China. For these reasons, no European or Asian democracy should seek to substitute for Russia in the task of building up another Communist colossus to play the role in Asia that the Soviet Union has been playing in Europe.

It is one thing to give some help to tiny Tito who broke with Moscow and is ready to resist Russian aggression; it is quite another thing to help the giant aggressor Communist China, which is in closest partnership with Moscow for the conquest of Asia and the Communist domination of the world. In this connection, it must be recalled that Tito did not break with Moscow because the democracies bribed or bought him. He was toughest towards the free world when it was kindest towards the people of Yugoslavia and saved them from starvation. Tito broke with the Kremlin as a result of the contradictions in Moscow's relations with Yugoslavia and not because of any Western favors or aid to him.

The democracies should not base their policies on the assumption that the Kremlin must repeat in its future relations with Peiping the mistakes it made in its past handling of Belgrade. Moscow learns from experience. Russia has already acted to avoid its own repetition of such errors. It has already also taken important steps to preclude a serious rupture of Sino-Soviet relations through the influence of Chinese Communist dissidents.

The democratic world would be its own grave-digger if it

were to make any political, economic or military move to help the regime of Communist Chinese usurpers stabilize and consolidate itself. After nearly three years of war and destructive purges and "brainwashing," Communist China is in serious economic difficulties. Because of a shortage of materials and skilled labor, its Conference of Ministers has been forced to reduce by 30 percent expansion of industry planned for this year.

Even with the loot stolen from its satellites, Moscow is unable to rescue Communist China from the dire straits into which it has been led by the Kremlin. No democratic powers should rush to fill in where Russia cannot but fail. Freedom and peace will not be served by the democracies providing the Communist Chinese dictatorship with the technical know-how, engineering skill, and machinery it so urgently needs for its survival and further totalitarian aggression.

Recognition of the Mao Tse-tung regime by any democratic government or the admission of Peiping into the U.N. should, likewise, be rejected by every peaceful and liberty-loving nation. Granted that, in the present condition of civilization, such recognition cannot be limited to states with high moral standards. By the same token, such recognition and admission must not necessarily be awarded to anti-moral states merely because they had callously, flagrantly, and with some degree of success, flouted the decisions of the U.N. and waged war against the United Nations.

Moscow Helped Chinese Communist Quislings

The question of the recognition and admission of Communist China should be faced in the light of the NEW world situation at hand and not in relation to political conditions and diplomatic practices which prevailed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The NEW, very important, factor in the world situation is the following: Astride Asia and Europe, there is a giant power dedicated to the destruction of the non-Communist governments with which it has diplomatic and ostensibly friendly relations. At the very moment that Russia had full diplomatic relations with Nationalist China, Moscow was providing arms and military direction to its Communist quislings for overthrowing and replacing the government with which it had just signed a special treaty of friendship.

Nothing has happened in the last two decades to warrant a change in or break with the sound doctrine laid down by Henry L. Stimson (1932) that recognition should be denied to any government forcibly imposed on any people with the aid of a foreign power. Nor is there any proof at hand that Mao Tse-tung is ad-

ministering in China a government "with the assent of the people thereof" as postulated by Cordell Hull (1936).

For several years, the Mao Tse-tung dictatorship has had absolute and despotic control of every avenue of life and institution on the Chinese mainland. It has physically exterminated all political opposition and suppressed the free trade union movement on the mainland. Yet, it has not dared to call even a sham election of the phony plebiscite type used in Roumania and first tried in totalitarian Russia. This foreign-imposed regime does not dare put even the slightest trust in the Chinese people.

For the free nations to recognize such a foreign-imposed regime and admit it to the U.N. would be tantamount to encouraging Moscow and its international fifth column to do in other countries what they have done in China.

Aggression No Qualification for Membership

The admission of Mao Tse-tung to the U.N. is not merely "a procedural act" or a matter which is "largely one of simple mathematics." If Communist China, which was condemned by the U.N. as an aggressor, had been decisively defeated in Korea, it would today have no advocates for its admission to the United Nations.

Successful or partly successful military aggression is no qualification for U.N. membership. The admission of democratic Italy has been considered by the free nations and even its own allies as a matter for veto. This fact certainly does not warrant that the admission of Mao Tse-tung should be considered merely "a procedural act." To do so would be to permit the Peiping regime to force its way into the U.N. by merely threatening to resume the shooting war. For Mao Tse-tung this would be getting into the U.N. at an even cheaper price than outright shooting his way in. The latter method had been repeatedly rejected by the democratic powers as despicable and unthinkable.

2. COMMUNIST CHINA— AGGRESSOR AGAINST U.N.

WHEN the Western powers agreed at Berlin last February to hold a conference at Geneva, with Communist China represented as a principal for considering the crises in Korea and Indochina, they erred grievously. Thereby, they played into the hands of the Soviet rulers who saw in this arrangement a splendid opportunity for bringing their Chinese junior partner into the center of international affairs, for advancing their strategy of pushing Communist China into the U.N., for deepening differences between the United States and its allies over the Chinese problem, and for shaking the Western alliance so profoundly as to weaken seriously democratic unity and collective security in Europe as well as Asia. This costly allied error was aggravated by the failure of the democracies to prepare even a definite agenda and rules of procedure, let alone a common policy, for the Geneva Conference.

At their sharpest point, the present differences among democracies are over Communist China and its admission into the U.N. These differences are organically bound up with the basic evaluation of the Soviet Union and the role of the Moscow-Peiping Axis in the world crisis. The proponents of putting Mao Tse-tung into the U.N. base their position on a number of untenable assumptions: They tell us that (1) once the Peiping regime is in the U.N., it will be conciliatory and co-operative; (2) it will then separate itself from or even clash with Moscow. They argue that it is not Communist truculence and aggression which brought on the Korean war, but Mao Tse-tung's absence from the U.N. that forced him into the Korean war and made this "peaceful peasant reformer" an aggressor, much against his theories and desires.

Of course, Communist China is not a Soviet puppet like Roumania. It is too big for that. But the Communist Chinese regime was born at the mouth of the Russian cannon. Mao Tse-tung has always emphasized loyalty to Russian Communist leadership and its world aims. This emphasis reflects his fundamental Communist principles and not formal diplomatic politeness to a neighboring country.

From Executive Council Report to 73rd convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Los Angeles, California, in September, 1954.

On the last anniversary of Stalin's death, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, which holds all power in its hands, proclaimed that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was "the most progressive, most experienced, and theoretically best equipped party in the world." Mao Tse-tung consistently affirms that his theories are but "a creative development of Stalin's teaching." Peiping's theoretician, Chen Yun, has declared that Stalin has "freed the European and Asian people from the threat of Fascist enslavement," so that today "the chain of peoples' democracies, from China and Korea to Czechoslovakia and Hungary, stand around the Soviet Union, forming the mighty camp of peace, democracy, and socialism."

Moscow flagrantly violated the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance which it solemnly signed on August 14, 1945. The U.N. is in possession of unchallengeable documentary evidence convicting Moscow of imposing on the Chinese people the Communist dictatorship which is among the most cruel of despotisms in all history.

Peiping Regime Represses People

The Peiping regime *represses rather than represents* the Chinese people. Despite its "effective control" through slaughtering millions, imprisoning and forcing into slave labor many more millions, and wiping out every semblance of human and democratic rights, the Peiping usurpers' regime does not dare hold even a Communist type of election, even a fraudulent national plebiscite of the "Peoples' Democracy" brand. So much "effective control" does Mao Tse-tung have over the people of China that he has completely and conveniently forgotten about the pledge he gave to the Chinese nation before he seized power. "*We even agree to submit to a democratic decision of the people of the whole country the question of whether the Soviet system of society is to be adopted by the whole of China or not.*" (Letter to the All-China National Salvation League, 1937.)

Foreign labor delegations and commercial profit-seekers visiting Communist China would make a contribution to world peace and freedom if they could succeed in having Mao Tse-tung make good on this pledge. That would provide a real test and genuine proof of Mao Tse-tung's "effective control" they offer as an argument for admitting the Chinese Communist dictatorship into the U.N.

To date, the only chance the Chinese people have had to express themselves in line with Mao Tse-tung's broken pledge was in Korea. Here the overwhelming majority of the Chinese war

prisoners—polled by an International Commission of which Polish and Czechoslovak Communists were members—voted overwhelmingly (14,000 out of 21,000) not to return to their homeland where they would be forced to live under "the Soviet system of society."

The attack from North Korea on June 25, 1950, could never have come without Russian direction and Moscow-Peiping support and participation. This attack was part of the Communist program for the conquest of all Asia and world domination. This plan had nothing to do with the moods, manners, or sensitivities of the Chinese Communist leaders as individuals. In this plan Communist China was deeply involved and, as Korea's neighbor, it was bound to play a paramount role—especially because of its vast manpower.

Since the Korean armistice, Peiping has blocked every attempt to bring peace and national unity in freedom to all the people of Korea. It has shown continuous contempt for the U.N. by trampling upon this armistice, by shifting hordes of its so-called People's Volunteers and vast military supplies to the battlefields of Indochina for enlarged and embittered warfare.

This conduct is no qualification for Peiping membership in the U.N. Membership in the U.N. for those who have contempt for it and wage war against it can only hurt the U.N.; it can never reform or improve the guilty aggressor enemy of the U.N. The experience of the U.N. with other totalitarian dictatorship regimes in its fold confirms this. There is nothing about the Peiping regime which proves that it is in accord with or ready to support the purposes and principles of the U.N. Charter.

Threat to Free Asian Nations

Neither the freedom of India, Indonesia and the other non-Communist neighbors of Peiping, nor the status of Hong Kong and Malaya, will be aided by a policy which lends world prestige, legal recognition, and economic and military aid to the aggressive Mao Tse-tung dictatorship in firm partnership with Moscow. Any agreement calling for enlarged trade with Communist China is bound to wipe out every pretense at distinguishing between strategic and non-strategic merchandise. This would mean that the democracies would be providing Peiping with resources for building a military machine powerful enough to destroy all free nations in Asia.

The case of Communist China is not comparable to Tito's small and poor Yugoslavia. Communist China is potentially a giant military power, capable of, and already shown to be eager for, aggressive expansion. Its admission to the United Nations

would only strengthen the hands of the Soviet Union in the U.N. and make its destructive role therein still more dangerous to the cause of peace and social progress.

Those who clamor so loudly for the admission of Communist China to the U.N. and for according it diplomatic recognition must believe in miracles, if they think that such a policy will strengthen the United Nations as an instrument of peace, democratic and human rights. Let those who earnestly desire such improvement of the U.N. instead divert their enthusiasm and energy into securing the admission into the U.N. of those free and democratic countries which are loyal to the principles and charter of the United Nations.

3. COMMUNIST CHINA MUST NOT BE ADMITTED INTO THE U.N.

THE question of admitting Communist China to the United Nations should be decided only in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

There exists a widespread notion that the United Nations is an organization which is open to all states which care to apply for membership. This assumption has no foundation in the present Charter of the United Nations. On the basis of the existing Charter, only those states which fulfill certain conditions may be members of the U.N. As long as the Charter has not been changed, its provisions regulating membership are binding.

The Charter of the U.N. contains no provision dealing with a case where the right of the government of a member to represent that state in the U.N. is challenged and another government claims the right to appoint representatives to the U.N. However, as already mentioned, the U.N. Charter does set conditions which a state must fulfill in order to qualify for membership in the U.N.

Since a state is represented by its government, it is evident that it is the government which must fulfill the conditions for membership in the United Nations.

The articles of the Charter in regard to "Membership" read:

Declaration issued July 20, 1954 by Matthew Woll, first vice president, AFL; chairman, Free Trade Union Committee.

"ARTICLE 3:—"The original Members of the United Nations shall be states which, having participated in the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco, or having previously signed the Declaration of the United Nations of January 1, 1942, sign the present Charter and ratify it in accordance with Article 110."

"ARTICLE 4:—"1. Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations.

"2. The admission of any such state to membership in the United Nations will be effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council."

"ARTICLE 5:—"A Member of the United Nations against which preventive or enforcement action has been taken by the Security Council may be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. The exercise of these rights and privileges may be restored by the Security Council."

"ARTICLE 6:—"A Member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the Organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council."

Requirements for U.N. Membership

The Charter distinguishes between original members and future members. China is one of the original members. Article 4 enumerates the conditions a state has to fulfill to become a member of the U.N. These conditions are: (1) to accept the obligations contained in the Charter; (2) to be a peace-loving state; (3) to be able and willing to carry out the obligations contained in the Charter. That the Charter considers all original Members as "peace-loving" can be inferred from the fact that Article 4 uses the formula: all "other" peace-loving states. In other words, the Charter requires that all members, subsequent as well as original members, must be peace-loving. It is evident that Communist China does not fulfill this condition.

According to international law, the new government must fulfill the following requirements in order to be eligible for membership in the U.N.: (1) It must be independent. (2) It must

be in effective control of the territory and the population of the member state.

Nothing has happened since Mao Tse-tung seized power, with the aid of Russian arms and leadership, to indicate that his regime is independent in its foreign policy or even in its domestic policy. Here one must raise the question: what does effective control mean? There is nothing in the U.N. Charter which implies, let alone provides, that control is synonymous with unrestrained and savage terror. In reference to this, we point to the following evaluation of the Mao Tse-tung dictatorship by the *MANCHESTER GUARDIAN WEEKLY*: "He represents a government which has boasted of killing two and a quarter million of its subjects." (July 15, 1954.)

Similarly, according to international law, a so-called government-in-exile can be considered as the government of the occupied state as long as it continues its efforts to obtain, by means of war, control of the territory of the state concerned. There is no question that the Nationalist Government, momentarily having its official seat at Formosa, meets this qualification. Communist China's shipping has been hard hit by Nationalist naval action. Civilians, trade unionists, peasants and even soldiers on the Chinese mainland are frequently being arrested, sent to forced labor camps and being executed for their loyalty to the Nationalist Government and hostility to the Communist regime as a foreign-imposed dictatorship.

Peiping Actions Violate U.N. Charter

And lest we forget, on December 14, 1950, the General Assembly of the U.N. adopted the following resolution: "The General Assembly . . . recommends that, whenever more than one Authority claims to be the government entitled to represent a Member State in the U.N., the question should be considered in the light of the Purposes and Principles of the Charter and the circumstances of each case."

Not even the most ardent apologist for the Mao Tse-tung regime could offer the flimsiest evidence that the Peiping dictatorship has shown any indication of acting "in the light of the Purposes and Principles of the Charter." It did not do so in Korea. It did not do so in Indo-China. It is not doing so in its treatment of the Chinese people who are being subjected to brutal exploitation and savage persecution.

According to Article 4, Paragraph 2 of the Charter, a state which fulfills the above-mentioned conditions can be admitted to membership in the U.N. only "by a decision of the General As-

sembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council." According to the express provision of Article 18, paragraph 2, a two-thirds majority of the Members present and voting is required for a decision by which the General Assembly admits a state to membership in the U.N. In conformity with Article 27, paragraph 3, the above-mentioned "recommendation" of the Security Council shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members. Since this "recommendation" is not a procedural matter, all permanent members must vote for it.

Consequently, no state can become a member of the U.N. against the will of one of the great Powers. Actually, the Soviet Union has prevented the admission of a number of states to the U.N. by casting a veto in the Security Council, thereby making impossible the required "recommendation" of the Security Council to the General Assembly.

New Governments Must Meet Test

In his statement of July 9, 1954, made at his news conference, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles declared:

"In view of the fact that the Charter tests as to eligibility obviously relate to governments, or can only be applied in terms of governments, it seems to me that if you look at the substance of the matter rather than the form, the question of the eligibility of a new government should be subject to the same voting tests as the admission of a new state."

The question arises then: Why should the United States not exercise its veto power to block the admission of the Communist Chinese regime to the General Assembly of the United Nations as well as to prevent its being seated on the Security Council of the U.N.—as announced by Secretary of State Dulles?

In dealing with this question, it will prove useful to review some cases where the applications of states to membership in the U.N. were not accepted. Some of the arguments which were advanced on those occasions apply just as much and are just as correct in rejecting the admission of Communist China to the U.N.

Article 3 and Article 4 of the Charter stipulate that only "states" can be members of the U.N. According to Hans Kelsen, *The Law of the United Nations*, London, 1950, pp. 68ff: "This point is of importance if the admission of a new state is at issue, which has not yet been recognized as such by all, or some, of the Members. The non-recognition by a Member of a community as a new state may manifest itself by the fact that no diplomatic

relations exist between this Member of the United Nations and the applicant community. Since general international law does not institute an objective authority to decide whether a community is a state in the sense of international law, it depends upon each member of the Security Council and of the General Assembly to answer this question according to its own discretion."

Thus, Poland refused to vote for the admission of the Hashemite Kingdom of Transjordan, because Poland did not consider the latter "a sovereign state" (Security Council, Official Records, 1st year, 2nd series; Suppl. No. 4, p. 136). The United States refused to vote for the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic because "the United States Government had yet to receive information which convinced it that the Mongolian People's Republic was in fact an independent state" (Security Council, Official Records, 2nd year, Special Suppl. 3, p. 11).

Precedents for Rejecting Applicants

The representative of Australia made the statement that states occupied by foreign troops (such as Austria, Hungary, Italy, Roumania, Bulgaria) "could not be regarded as sovereign or independent" (Ibid., pp. 20, 52). At the July 14, 1948 meeting of the Security Council Committee on the Admission of New Members, the representative of the Soviet Union suggested that the Committee postpone consideration of the application of Ceylon pending receipt of information from the Ceylon Government establishing its position as a sovereign and independent state. (Doc. S/C. 2./S.R. 26).

During the discussion of the application of the Outer Mongolian People's Republic in the Security Council, the delegate of China declared that the applicant was not a peace-loving state within the terms of the Charter (Doc. S/479, pp. 39-46).

In the discussion of the applications for membership of Ireland and Portugal, the delegate of the Soviet Union stated that his government could not support these applications, because these countries had no diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. (Doc. S/177).

In this connection, it may also be worthwhile to quote from resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, in regard to Franco Spain.

On the motion of the Mexican delegation, Commission I of the San Francisco Conference decided to insert in the records of the Commission the following statement: "It is the understanding of the delegation of Mexico that Par. 2 of Chapter III [Article 4 of the Charter] cannot be applied to the states whose regimes

have been established with the help of military forces belonging to the countries which have waged war against the United Nations, as long as those regimes are in power." (Verbatim Minutes of 3rd meeting of Commission I, U.N. C.I.O. Doc. 1167, I/10, pp. 20-29).

At its 26th meeting, the General Assembly adopted the following resolution:

"1. The General Assembly recalls that the San Francisco Conference adopted a resolution according to which paragraph 2 of Article 4 of Chapter II of the United Nations Charter 'cannot apply to states whose regimes have been installed with the help of armed forces of countries which have fought against the United Nations so long as these regimes are in power.'

"2. The General Assembly recalls that at the Potsdam Conference the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States of America and the Soviet Union stated that they would not support a request for admission to the United Nations of the present Spanish Government 'which, having been founded with the support of the Axis powers, in view of its origin, its nature, its record and its close association with the aggressor states, does not possess the necessary qualifications to justify its admission.'

"3. The General Assembly, in endorsing these two statements, recommends that the Members of the United Nations should act in accordance with the letter and the spirit of these statements in the conduct of their future relations with Spain."

Example of Franco Spain

At its 59th meeting, the General Assembly adopted a resolution in which it recommended:

"That the Franco Government of Spain be debarred from membership in international agencies established by or brought into relationship with the United Nations, and from participation in conferences or other activities which may be arranged by the United Nations or by these agencies, until a new and acceptable government is formed in Spain; . . . that if, within a reasonable time, there is not established a government which derives its authority from the consent of the governed, committed to respect freedom of speech, religion and assembly and to the prompt holding of an election in which the Spanish people, free from force and intimidation and regardless of party may express their will, the Security Council consider the adequate

measures to be taken in order to remedy the situation . . .

The preamble to this resolution states, in part:

"The General Assembly, convinced that the Franco Fascist Government of Spain, which was imposed by force upon the Spanish people with the aid of the Axis Powers and which gave material assistance to the Axis Powers in the war, does not represent the Spanish people, and by its continued control of Spain is making impossible the participation of the Spanish people with the peoples of the United Nations in international affairs; . . ."

Most of the indictments made against Franco Spain can also be levelled at Communist China. The Chinese Communist regime was imposed upon the people of China with outside (Russian) help. It fought against the United Nations and was condemned by the U.N. as an aggressor. The moment it signed an armistice agreement with the U.N. in the Korean theatre of its aggressive war, the Peiping dictatorship rushed its "volunteer" troops and vast stores of military equipment to Indochina where it resorted to new aggression and hurled its armed forces against the democratic Vietnamese and France, a member of the United Nations.

No Preference Among Dictators!

But it might be argued that the free world should not apply against the Communist Chinese regime the same rules which it pledged to apply against the Falangist regime of Spain. This type of approach is unprincipled and impractical. It is dangerously unrealistic to give preferential treatment to one type of totalitarian usurpers (the Communist type) as against another brand (the Falangist). Imposition from without and usurpation from within should never be rewarded or legitimized, regardless of their source, origin or flag. We know nothing more unrealistic than to give preferential and favored treatment to any particular form of totalitarianism.

It would be suicidal rather than realistic to give special privileges or preference to the Communist expression of foreign-imposed despotism and usurpation, particularly at a moment in history when it represents the gravest threat to world peace and freedom and on an occasion when it involves not a small and poor country but so great a people and so vast an area as China.

In this connection, we also stress that we do not have the slightest preference for Russian totalitarianism as against Chinese totalitarian dictatorship. In fact, since the founding of the U.N., the U.S.S.R. has become the principal aggressor. It is today the

primary motive force directing and making possible Chinese aggression. If the Soviet Union were to apply today for membership in the U.N., it would be ineligible for admission under the Charter of the U.N.

The Peiping regime does not represent the Chinese people. Though it has had absolute power as a totalitarian dictatorship for more than five years, the Mao Tse-tung regime has not dared to hold a national election—even of the so-called "people's democracy" plebiscite type in vogue in the most backward Balkan lands under the Communist yoke.

To date, there has been only one occasion on which Chinese from the mainland have had an opportunity to vote on whether they desired or declined to live under a system of Soviet dictatorship. Of about 21,000 Chinese war prisoners in the Korean conflict who were polled by the International Commission—after considerable harangue, pressure and threats against them and their families by official representatives of the Peiping regime—more than 14,000 voted NO. They decided not to return to their homeland. The overwhelming majority decided that it chose not to live under the Soviet system. The International Commission which supervised this vote consisted of representatives of Communist Russian-dominated Polish and Czechoslovak governments and representatives of India, Sweden and Switzerland.

Mao's Broken Pledges

This is all the more significant in view of the fact that in his letter to the All-China National Salvation League (1937), Mao Tse-tung pledged: "We even agree to submit to a democratic decision of the people of the whole country the question of whether the Soviet system of society is to be adopted by the whole of China or not."

We wonder why Prime Minister Nehru and others who are so eager to catapult Communist China into the U.N. have forgotten this pledge by Mao Tse-tung. Why do not these advocates of the Peiping Communist regime propose and champion the idea of holding such a U.N.-supervised democratic election throughout all Chinese territory? Can they think of a more peaceful, positive and constructive way of settling the Chinese issue, of reducing to a minimum all international tension emanating from this source, and of assuring the Chinese people a government which represents rather than represses them? Can Attlee, Bevan, Nehru and their supporters conceive of a more realistic, more sound and more just way of bringing back into the community of free and peaceful peoples the entire great Chinese nation?

Finally, we do not say that everyone who seeks the admission of Communist China into the U.N. is a Communist or even an appeaser of Moscow-Peiping aggression. There are some who honestly believe that U.N. membership for the Mao Tse-tung regime will transform and reform the character of the Peiping dictatorship. This is nothing but wishful thinking. For years, five Iron Curtain regimes (U.S.S.R., Ukraine, Byelorussia, Poland, Czechoslovakia) have been in the U.N. Their active participation in the life of the United Nations and their continuous and close association with the other members of the U.N. have not served to reform them or change their character.

On the other hand, the granting of U.N. membership to the Communist Chinese aggressor, who has waged war against the United Nations, will serve to legalize and lend moral responsibility to the Peiping dictatorship. It will discourage and demoralize the democratic forces on the Chinese mainland and in every overseas Chinese community throughout Asia where they are of vital economic and political importance to the cause of democracy and peace. Such admission will strengthen the hand and sharpen the terror of the Communist regime within China proper.

Recognition Boost to Aggression

Moreover, such international recognition of the Communist regime would have a disastrous effect on the democratic anti-Communist forces within the neighboring countries of Mao Tse-tung China. It would, thereby, jeopardize their national independence and greatly encourage the subversive forces seeking to undermine the democratic institutions and destroy the democratic rights of the people of Burma, Thailand, Malaya, Ceylon, Indonesia, and even India itself. In short, such international recognition of the aggressor Communist regime in China would encourage and facilitate the Mao Tse-tung warlords to step up their terror campaign against the national independence and territorial integrity of all these non-Communist countries.

Let us not forget the lessons of the catastrophic experience the free world had with the Nazi totalitarian dictatorship. Every time the democracies accepted and honored any act of aggression and conquest by Hitler, they weakened inside the neighboring countries resistance to Nazi subversion and aggression and encouraged the Hitlerite warlords to resort to further military conquest and imperialist expansion. This false policy inevitably led to World War II. Let us not return to this false policy, for it can lead only to another and even more terrible world conflagration.

4. REPLY TO SWEDEN'S FOREIGN MINISTER

On July 20, 1954, the A.F. of L. Free Trade Union Committee issued a statement, "Why Communist China Should Not Be Admitted to the United Nations," which was sent to every member of the U.N. General Assembly. Of the replies received, the great majority were in agreement; some disagreed entirely.

In the interest of fairness and objectivity, we publish below the text of the reply sent October 18, 1954, by His Excellency Osten Unden, Foreign Minister of Sweden, followed by a rejoinder from Matthew Woll, chairman of the Free Trade Union Committee, sent November 17, 1954.

1. From Unden to Woll

DEAR Sir:

I have received your letter, with annex, of October 11 and have studied them. Since you ask me to let you have my reactions to it, I permit myself to give the following answer:

First, I want to stress that the question of the representation of China in the United Nations is not a question of the admission of new members, since China is a member of the United Nations and has a permanent seat in the Security Council from the time the Organization came into being. The problem is exclusively one of determining which government should be recognized as the government of China. What is said in the annex to your letter about the admission of new members is consequently irrelevant.

At present, the Peking government has been recognized, among others, by the United Kingdom, the three Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and India. On the other hand, the United States of America and a majority of the members of the United Nations take the view that the Formosa government is the government of China.

It is a political question whether a State is willing or not to recognize a new regime in another State which has been established by revolution. I share the view expressed by Mr. John Foster Dulles in a book published in 1950 dealing with the problem of the admission of new members. Mr. Dulles said the following:

"I have now come to believe that the United Nations will best serve the cause of peace if its Assembly is representative of what the world actually is, and not merely repre-

sentative of the Parts which we like. Therefore, we ought to be willing that all nations should be members without attempting to appraise closely those which are 'good' and those which are 'bad'. Already that distinction is obliterated by the present membership of the United Nations.

"Some of the present member nations and others that might become members, have governments that are not representative of the people. But if in fact they are governments—that is, if they govern—then they have a power which should be represented in any organization that purports to mirror world reality."

I regret that I disagree with you both as to the juridical side of the matter and as regards its political evaluation.

/s/ OSTEN UNDEN
Minister for Foreign Affairs
Chairman of the Swedish Delegation
to the General Assembly of the United Nations.

2. Rejoinder by Woll

YOUR Excellency:

Thank you for your letter of October 18th commenting on our memorandum: "Why Communist China Should Not Be Admitted to the United Nations."

Now that we have received a sufficiently representative number of replies from members of the General Assembly, we hasten to place before Your Excellency our reaction to your viewpoint. You maintain that for juridical and political reasons, the Mao Tse-tung dictatorship should be admitted to the United Nations. We have examined your argumentation and find ourselves in complete disagreement with your conclusions.

In your reply, you stress that "the question of the representation of China in the United Nations is not a question of the admission of new members, since China is a member of the United Nations. . . . The problem is exclusively one of determining which government should be recognized as the government of China." But the fact of the matter is that a state can be represented in the U.N. only by its government. Consequently, the government seeking entry into the U.N. must meet the qualifications for membership set by the Charter. In regard to this phase of the problem, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles has very correctly stated

more recently, on the basis of the aggression perpetrated by the Mao Tse-tung regime in Korea:

"In view of the fact that the Charter tests as to eligibility obviously relate to governments, or can only be applied in terms of governments, it seems to me that . . . the question of the eligibility of a new government should be subject to the same voting tests as the admission of a new state." (July 9, 1954)

Furthermore, on December 14, 1950, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution in which it ". . . recommends that, whenever more than one Authority claims to be the government entitled to represent a Member State in the U.N., the question should be considered in the light of the Purposes and Principles of the Charter and the circumstances of each case." But in your reply to us, you state: "The problem is exclusively one of determining which government should be recognized as the government" of the state in question—in this instance, China. Apparently, you are in disagreement with the position of the General Assembly when you declare and dismiss as "consequently irrelevant" the two conditions set by the U.N.—"the Purposes and Principles of the Charter and the circumstances of each case."

Waged War Against U.N.

We find it very hard to believe that you, as Minister for Foreign Affairs of the great Swedish people and as Chairman of the Swedish Delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations, would maintain that the actions and policy of the Communist dictatorship over the people on the Chinese mainland are in accord with the "Purposes and Principles of the U.N. Charter." We are certain that you agree with us when we underscore that, from its very inception, from the very first day of its seizure of power, the totalitarian Peiping dictatorship has acted in deliberate and flagrant violation of the "Purposes and Principles of the U.N. Charter."

And in so far as "the circumstances" involving the case of the Mao Tse-tung regime are concerned, they definitely disqualify this government and make it ineligible for admission to U.N. membership. We are sure that the government which you have the honor to represent has not forgotten that (1) the Mao Tse-tung dictatorship has waged war in Korea against the United Nations, (2) was condemned as an aggressor by the United Nations, and (3) juridically speaking is still at war with the U.N. To date, the Communist rulers in Peiping have refused to conclude a peace treaty with the United Nations in regard to Korea.

As you know, the Charter of the United Nations is very severe in the judgment of Member States which have not acted in accordance with its "Purposes and Principles." We cite Article 5 which specifically declares that: "A Member of the United Nations against which preventive or enforcement action has been taken by the Security Council may be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership. . . ." In Korea, the U.N. was compelled to take the strongest "enforcement action" against the aggressor Chinese Communist government. In the light of these circumstances, we wonder why you propose to have the U.N. bestow on Communist China the "rights and privileges of membership" from whose exercise and enjoyment it would have been suspended, if it had been a member at the time it launched its aggression in Korea against the United Nations.

Special Privileges for Peiping?

Why such favored treatment for the Peiping dictatorship? What has it done to entitle it to such special privileges and extremely preferential treatment, even at the expense of the "Purposes and Principles of the Charter of the United Nations?" Neither in Tibet, Korea nor Indo-China, neither in its stepped up threat to the national independence of Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand, nor in its policy of having the millions of overseas Chinese residing in Indonesia and other Asian Member states of the U.N. play the role of a Peiping fifth column, has the Mao Tse-tung government done anything at all entitling it to such special privileges and qualifying it for membership in the United Nations.

In this connection, we further remind you that Article 6 of the U.N. Charter specifically declares:

"A Member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the Organization. . . ."

Surely you are fully aware of the continuous violation by the Communist Chinese government of the principles embodied in the U.N. Charter. You certainly realize that if this aggressor government had been a member of the U.N., prior to its aggression in Korea, the General Assembly would have had to expel it many months before our present correspondence. Membership in the United Nations is a privilege. In view of Article 6 of the U.N. Charter, the Communist Chinese regime is certainly not deserving of this privilege.

We noted with particular interest your statement: "It is a political question whether a State is willing or not to recognize a new regime in another State which has been established by revo-

lution." We emphatically deny that the Chinese Communist regime was established by revolution. The present Communist dictatorship in Peiping was not brought to power by a revolutionary mass movement like the American and French Revolutions and the February 1917 Russian Revolution. The war through which Mao Tse-tung was able to subvert the legitimate government of the Republic of China was a war instigated, directed, financed and militarily equipped by Moscow. The totalitarian Mao Tse-tung regime is a dictatorship imposed on the people of China by foreign bayonets and bullets.

This has been confirmed by the U.N. General Assembly in the resolution it adopted on February 1, 1952. The delegation representing the government of Sweden did not vote against this resolution, which dealt with the "THREATS TO THE POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND TO THE PEACE OF THE FAR EAST, RESULTING FROM SOVIET VIOLATION OF THE SINO-SOVIET TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND ALLIANCE OF 14 AUGUST 1945, AND FROM SOVIET VIOLATION OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS."

U.N. Condemned Soviet Subversion

Because of the vital importance of the political point you have raised, we take the liberty of bringing to your attention the text of the aforementioned U.N. General Assembly resolution criticizing the Soviet government for its dangerous, high-handed, utterly illegal, and subversive activities against the legitimate government of the Republic of China to whose "sovereignty and territorial integrity" it had pledged full and exclusive support. We quote:

"The General Assembly,

"CONSIDERING that it is a prime objective of the United Nations 'to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained,'

"NOTING that the Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics concluded on 14 August 1945 a treaty of friendship and alliance which provides, *inter alia*,

"(A) That the contracting parties 'agree . . . to act in accordance with the principles of mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-intervention in each other's internal affairs', and

"(B) That 'Soviet government agrees to render China moral support and assist her with military supplies and other

material resources, it being understood that this support and assistance will go exclusively to the National Government as the central government of China,'

"FINDING that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics obstructed the efforts of the National Government of China in re-establishing Chinese military authority in the three eastern provinces (Manchuria) after the surrender of Japan and gave military and economic aid to the Chinese Communists against the National Government of China,

"DETERMINES that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in her relations with China since the surrender of Japan, has failed to carry out the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of 14 August 1945."

We need not assure you, Your Excellency, that we of the American Federation of Labor are proud of the revolutionary origin of our country. In this spirit and devoted to the ideals of human liberty, we of the A.F. of L. have never hesitated to urge upon our government the prompt recognition and wholehearted support of new regimes established by genuine democratic revolutions of the people in various States. Thus, the A.F. of L. was among the very first in the United States to welcome the democratic regime which was born and established as a result of the great Russian Revolution of February 1917. We adopted the same position toward the Weimar Republic which was established as a result of the German Revolution of November 1918.

We do hope, Your Excellency, that you will consider our reply to your communication of October 18, 1954 and see your way clear to change your position and oppose the admission of the foreign-imposed Mao Tse-tung regime into the United Nations.

MATTHEW WOLL, first vice president
American Federation of Labor and
chairman, International Labor Relations
and Free Trade Union Committees,
A.F. of L.

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